

LABOR POWER

Official Organ of the Socialist Union Party

Volume 2

JULY, 1940

Number 1

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Super-Reformism in Action

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Where We Stand!

Organization Notes

Published by the Socialist Union Party,
140 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Organization Notes

SAN FRANCISCO

For the past several months our National Organizer Comrade William Briggs has been stationed in San Francisco. Although his activities in San Francisco have not been of a spectacular nature, he has nevertheless carried on an intensive campaign spreading the message of the party. Comrade Briggs' principal activity in addition to visiting contacts has been the conducting of a series of Sunday open-air meetings in Jefferson Park. These meetings have been well attended and considerable interest has been manifested in the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism. A number of new contacts have been made while old contacts have been revitalized. Comrade Briggs has been compelled to work practically alone, starting anew, from the ground up. This has made his task doubly difficult. The fact that notwithstanding these obstacles Comrade Briggs has been able to persevere and make progress is most encouraging and holds out the hope of gathering the nucleus for a branch in the not too distant future. Readers living in San Francisco or vicinity are urged to attend Comrade Briggs' Sunday meetings in Jefferson Park. A further account of the National Organizer's activities in San Francisco will appear in a subsequent issue.

BRANCH NEW YORK

Branch New York has devoted itself during the past several months to pushing the distribution of the party's literature. The members of the branch have purchased and distributed 1,000 copies of the first number of the party's new Workers' pocket series, "Daniel DeLeon—Pioneer American Socialist." A special leaflet distribution squad has been organized. Considerable quantities of the parties' leaflets, particularly those on "Trust-Busting or Union Busting" and the "C.I.O.", have been distributed before union meetings.

In addition to these two leaflets the squad is now distributing the new leaflet on "The Fight For the Thirty-Hour Week" before Union gatherings. A widespread general distribution of the party's new war leaflet, "This Is Not Our War" is now in progress. The Branch has set itself the goal of distributing 100,000 leaflets from now on to the close of the pending presidential campaign. As a beginning an order for 25,000 leaflets has been sent in to the National Office, accompanied by

the promise that these will soon be disposed of and more ordered.

NEW PARTY LITERATURE

Since our last issue the National Office has issued the second number in our Pocket Pamphlet series, entitled "Where We Stand." This little booklet contains a programmatic article and the party's Resolutions on Unionism and Relief. This pamphlet supplies a long felt need, and is a compact statement on basic practical issues. It sells for a penny a copy and supplies are available for distribution.

The following new leaflets have been published: "The Fight For The Thirty-Hour Week;" since the 30-Hour Week has become one of the most important issues before the trade union movement and has aroused widespread favorable sentiment, this leaflet is especially appropriate for distribution at union gatherings. "This Is Not Our War," deals with the latest developments in the war crisis. The leaflet undertakes among other things to combat the rising wave of war hysteria that is rapidly driving us into the war.

It should not be necessary to emphasize the importance of giving this anti-war leaflet the widest possible distribution WHILE THERE IS YET TIME, for tomorrow MAY BE TOO LATE. Branches, members, friends and readers are urged to send in their orders without delay.

"TROJAN HORSE" ATTACK ON LABOR

By the time our readers receive this issue there will be off the press and available for distribution still another leaflet on the war crisis dealing with the current onslaught against aliens which is taking on alarming proportions. It is an open secret that this assault is being fostered by the reaction as the entering wedge for the regimentation of Labor generally. The task of the hour is to arouse the labor movement to the real "Trojan-Horse" character of this attack. This new leaflet will render yeoman service in this task. It must be spread and broadcasted.

To facilitate the widest possible distribution of these leaflets the National Office is reducing the price of all leaflets to 50c per 1,000 plus postage or express charges. Send all orders for literature to the Literature Department, S. U. P. 140 Fourth Ave., Brooklyn, New York

LABOR POWER

Published Monthly by the
SOCIALIST UNION PARTY

140 Fourth Ave.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Subscription: — Per Year, 50c; Semi-

Annually, 25c; Single Copy, 5c.

Composed & Printed by Voluntary Labor

Vol. 2, No. 1 July, 1940

Editorials . . .

WAR AND THE WORKERS

Mussolini's entrance into the war on June 10th provided President Roosevelt with a long awaited opportunity to throw off the mask of neutrality and openly assume for this country the position of a non-belligerent on the side of the Allies.

A few short hours after Mussolini's announcement President Roosevelt, in an address at the graduation exercises of the University of Virginia, strongly espoused the cause of the Allies and offered them at top speed the full material resources of this nation.

Roosevelt's repudiation of American neutrality comes as no surprise. As LABOR POWER has repeatedly pointed out, the American government has been unneutral from the very beginning. Heretofore, political expediency and an overwhelming peace sentiment compelled the administration to trim its sails and pay lip-service to the principle of neutrality. But even before Mussolini's final step into the war, this alleged neutrality had been wearing very thin. At the insistence of the President the rigor of the Neutrality Law had been relaxed in favor of the Allies and just recently under a very thin cover of legal hocus-pocus, the President had begun supplying the Allies with military supplies and planes.

Italy's entrance into the war relieved President Roosevelt of any further necessity of continuing the legal mumbo-jumbo of being in favor of neutrality while at the same time

rendering material assistance to the Allies.

The official United States position for the time being may be considered to be that of a non-belligerent ally to Britain and France, rendering every assistance short of sending troops to fight against their enemies. In other words, *this country is now, for all practical purposes, actually at war!*

It is true that no formal declaration of war has been made. But in the conduct of modern totalitarian warfare such trimmings are no longer considered necessary. Meanwhile, the country is rapidly being converted to a war-time basis.

A high-powered war hysteria, far outstripping that which preceded our entrance into the first World War is being whipped up to drown out the voices of all opposition and to prepare the ground for a totalitarian civil regime in keeping with the necessities of totalitarian warfare.

At this critical moment the Socialist Union Party reaffirms, before the entire working class, its unalterable opposition to all imperialist wars, including the present holocaust.

The war in Europe continues to be a contest between two rival camps of imperialist bandits struggling for mastery of the world's markets and economic resources. Regardless of who wins the war, it is the workers of all countries who will lose, unless they wake up in time to prevent the catastrophe.

Carried away by the current frenzy of fear that Hitler's legions will soon invade the United States, and filled with hatred of Fascism's destruction of Labor's rights, many workers are allowing themselves to be bamboozled once again, as they were in 1917, into accepting the slogan of "National Unity" for the duration of the war which they believe will save their democratic rights. Before it is too late let these workers pause and re-examine the forces in conflict, lest in the name of "preserving democracy," they unwittingly lend their aid to destroying it.

WAR MEANS DICTATORSHIP

We are told that victory for Hitler in Europe will imperil democracy here in America; and that the Allies, notwithstanding their admitted imperialist character, are now fighting to safeguard democracy. A pretty story, if true. But what are the facts? **THIS VERY WAR WHICH WE ARE ASKED TO BELIEVE WILL DESTROY FAS-**

CISM HAS BEGUN BY IMPOSING TOTALITARIAN MILITARY DICTA- TORSHIPS OVER FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN!

Modern imperialist warfare can only be waged effectively on a totalitarian basis. To meet Hitler on an equal footing, first France and now Britain have been compelled to adopt the identical form of rule which they allegedly seek to crush. Thus not only in Germany but in the Allied countries as well, democracy has become a thing of the past. Labor finds itself completely subjugated to the will of the capitalist class in every warring country.

AMERICA NEXT IN LINE

The moment America enters the war the same fate will befall American labor. The capitalist warmongers who seek the support of American workers carefully conceal the fact that the more or less well-known "M-Day Plan" has long been in readiness to introduce an American brand of Fascism the moment this country enters the war. In his "Preparedness" address to Congress, President Roosevelt was very detailed in outlining his plans for military "defense." But he had not one word to say about the blueprint to hogtie and regiment the American working class!

The M-Day plans have been carefully worked out by the present administration in conjunction with the brass hats of the Army and Navy. They call for iron-clad control by big business and the generals over the working class—control both over those who are to fight and over those who will remain behind the lines in industry. All civil liberties will be outlawed, all independent working class action prohibited. A rigid dictatorship will be clamped over the workers. The first result of the war to save the world from fascism will be the introduction of fascism to America.

CAPITALISM HAS NO CHOICE BUT FASCISM

There is much glib talk about the "cheerful sacrifices" of the Allied populations in surrendering, temporarily, their cherished democratic rights as the alternative to becoming subjects to the fascist "masters." Let the workers have no illusions on this score. ONCE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS ARE SURRENDERED THEY ARE IRRETRIEVABLY

LOST! A victory over Hitler can be won only at the cost of a superhuman effort which will reduce the warring nations to ruins and cripple their economic life for years to come. Who is so naive as to believe that the ruling classes of the former democratic nations could afford the "luxury" of restoring civil rights to their workers under such chaotic conditions? They remember well that under similar conditions after the first World War, social revolution shook the continent of Europe and almost destroyed capitalism. If the workers have not understood the meaning of this experience, their capitalist masters have, and they will take the necessary precautions to avoid the recurrence of a similar "calamity."

Even if the capitalist class were willing to do so, it could not restore democratic rights and the status quo after this war. Capitalism is dying and its continued existence only brings forth new convulsions and bloodlettings periodically. Only with the iron whip of fascism can the workers be kept from revolting against the miserable lot of growing impoverishment and degradation which will be theirs after the war is ended.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

The working class loathes and fears fascism. All the more reason therefore to refuse American capitalism the opportunity to clamp the chains of dictatorship on us by going to war on its behalf. HITLERISM MUST GO, BUT CAPITALIST IMPERIALISTS CANNOT BE TRUSTED TO DO THIS JOB. The Allies, with America's aid, may destroy Hitler, but they dare not destroy Hitlerism, for the only regime that could successfully bar its return is the Socialist Industrial Republic. The capitalist world dreads this cure far more than it does the disease.

THE ALLIES RESPONSIBLE FOR HITLER

Let those workers who now pin their hopes on the Allies as the saviors of humanity remember that it was the Allies themselves who nourished Hitler and permitted him to wax powerful. Allied capitalism had not a single complaint as long as Hitler confined his bestial talents to exterminating and imprisoning the flower of the German working class and thus preventing the possibility of a workers' revolution. It was only when Hitler

turned against their own imperialist interests that he became the arch-villain of humanity.

THE MAIN ENEMY IS CAPITALISM

Fellow workers! Again we repeat, this is not our war! American capitalism is calling upon us to defend its international investments and its rich world markets. No matter which side wins this war, we will lose—unless we awaken and act in our own behalf! No matter who wins, the world will be plunged into fascist barbarism, after millions of workers who have been killed and thousands upon thousands of homes destroyed.

We American wage slaves have nothing to choose between the warring camps in Europe. Our fight is over here, for our enemy is here, at home! Let us not be deceived by the cry for “National” unity and “National” defense, for in reality these slogans mean “Unity for Capitalism’s Defense.” They mean strengthening the rule of the capitalist exploiters whose rotting social order has brought humanity to the very brink of social catastrophe!

No, fellow workers, our fight is here. Our enemy is at home! Twelve millions of us are unemployed. Those “lucky” enough to be on relief or on W. P. A. are busy fighting budget cuts by capitalist politicians who do not hesitate to call on us to die for them. Those “lucky” enough to be employed by private industry are busy resisting wage cuts, speed-ups and lengthening of hours. That is our fight, and the capitalist class is our enemy!

By destroying American capitalism not only do we put an end to the possibility of war and fascism for ourselves and our children, but at the same time we give impetus to our brothers in Europe to break the chains of fascism that now bind them.

SOCIALISM—THE ONLY HOPE FOR PEACE

Only under the victorious banner of Socialism can the watchwords of “Democracy,” “Security” and “Peace” be transformed into reality. As long as capitalism remains, they remain false slogans, luring the workers on to fascist enslavement.

Fellow workers, join with us in the struggle of emancipation. Help build a worker’s world!

THE BLACKOUT OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

Under cover of the mounting “Fifth Column” hysteria, the forces of reaction are having a field day hacking away at civil liberties and Labor’s independence and freedom of action.

Even before the outbreak of the war in Europe, a vigorous campaign had been set on foot against the civil rights of non-citizens. This movement has now assumed the proportions of a blitzkrieg. There is hardly a municipality or a State that has failed to join the procession in formulating restrictive measures against aliens.

In Congress, in the House of Representatives alone, approximately 30 far-reaching alien-control measures have been considered by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. A number of these bills were favorably reported to the House and have been passed with little or no opposition. They are now before the Senate.

PART OF WAR DRIVE

The movement to regiment and repress non-citizens, which is sweeping forward under the banner of “National Defense”, is part and parcel of the campaign to repress the entire working class in preparation for American entry into the raging maelstrom of World War II.

The successful waging of modern warfare demands the complete subjugation of *all* to the war machine of the imperialist government. This means that Civil Liberties must go and Labor’s freedom of action must be destroyed. Since alien rights are the weakest link in the chain of civil liberties, aliens being a helpless minority unable to fight back, the war-mongers are cunningly concentrating the first phase of their attack upon them, counting on the apathy and inertia of the mass of workers who are citizens to help them win this first battle.

The object of the campaign against aliens is twofold. First, the “fear of God” will be placed in the hearts of non-citizens, who form a considerable section of the labor force engaged in producing “National Defense” requirements, thus shutting off possible opposition to American capitalism’s war measures from the very beginning. Secondly, the outcry against possible “Trojan Horses” and “Fifth Columns” forms the requisite background for

whipping up the proper fever for "National Defense", under cover of which labor will be coerced into voluntarily surrendering its independence.

REGIMENTING ALIEN LABOR

Not only politics but war-mongering makes strange bedfellows. The erstwhile "liberal" Roosevelt Administration is now to be found lying cheek to cheek with the reactionary alien-baiters and labor-haters engaged in spreading the flames of anti-alien hysteria.

As the opening shot in the campaign, Congress, acting at the instigation of President Roosevelt, has approved a measure transferring the Bureau of Immigration from the control of the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. The affairs of immigrants and aliens which were heretofore considered an administrative problem, now become police matters to be supervised by the American version of the Gestapo.

Among the most vicious proposals now pending before Congress are the Hobbs Bill, (HR 5643) which would set up concentration camps for deportable aliens who cannot be deported because of inability to obtain passports or means of transportation; the Dempsey Bill (HR 4860) which provides for the deportation of aliens who advocate ANY change in the form of the American government; the Smith Omnibus Bill, which prohibits the spreading of "dissatisfaction" in the armed forces of the country, provides for the registration and fingerprinting of aliens, and makes it a criminal offense for a person to organize or knowingly to affiliate with any group "which advocates the overthrow of destruction by force or violence of the government of the U. S. or of any state or local government." All three measures have already passed the House and are awaiting action by the Senate.

LABOR "FRAME UP"

The Allen Bill to deport Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. leader, shows how far the reactionaries in Congress are prepared to go in their attempt to hogtie the labor movement. Having failed to frame him up in deportation hearings before James M. Landis, Dean of Harvard Law School, acting as special examiner for the Department of Labor, the anti-labor legislators are trying to have him expelled by legislative fiat, setting at naught all protection provided by Constitutional guarantees.

Following up this move against Bridges, this same gang of super-patriotic fascists were instrumental in having the House pass an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act forbidding employers from dealing with alien union representatives. This shot also was aimed at Bridges, as well as at the Canadian president of the C.I.O. Woodworkers Union, Pritchett. The importance of this attack against labor cannot be overemphasized. Once the principle is established that the capitalist government can legislate who may and who may not represent the workers, there is nothing to prevent the extension of this prohibition to naturalized citizens or even native Americans who may arouse the ire of the Administration.

SENATE JOINS ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

The Senate has not been backward in this fight against the working class. Its chance came with the debate on Senator La Follette's Labor Practices Bill, which, in its original form, contained provisions forbidding employers engaged in interstate commerce from employing labor spies, purchasing tear gas, or indulging in many other anti-labor practices which the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee investigation had exposed. Immediately upon its presentation to the Senate, it was subjected to a smashing attack. Even before debate had well begun the bill was amended to exempt from its provisions all employers engaged in producing goods for "National Defense", a term which in time of war will cover practically every industry.

Two more amendments, sponsored by the fascist-minded Senator Reynolds, were quickly added. The first would bar all Communists and Nazis from employment in interstate commerce; the second limits the proportion of aliens employed in such jobs to 10%. The payoff came when Senator Wiley offered an amendment which stated that "*Employers are authorized to ascertain their employee's competency or loyalty to American ideals and concepts.*"

PROPOSE FASCIST TENETS

All these evidences of the activities of the "patriotic" "American" "democratic" forces should open the eyes of those deluded workers who have dismissed the anti-alien drive as of no great importance since it affects only a handful of "foreigners". Here, even before the country has entered the war, we see an

(Continued on page 13)

“Trojan Horse” Takes “Middle Way”

As a bolt from the blue to the Allies, as well as to the rest of the world, came the swift and efficient Nazi invasion of Norway last April. Aided from within by treacherous Norwegian army and navy officers who acted in co-operation with Nazi agents who had penetrated into Norway in the guise of tourists, the Nazis were able to move forward without resistance and to consolidate their positions against possibility of Allied attacks. Seizing upon the ease with which Norway was conquered, the capitalist press here immediately set to work to exploit the situation with sensational stories of Nazi “spy rings,” and “infiltration of enemy agents,” while the professional red baiters had a field day building up stories of Communist “penetration” into the American army, navy and air service. The real lesson behind the betrayal of Norway to the Nazis was carefully concealed.

While it is undoubtedly true that the intrigues of Hitler's agents played a role in facilitating the invasion, the most significant question which the capitalist press, with one or two exceptions, has not attempted to answer, is—why should supposedly loyal, patriotic Norwegian army officers have played the role of Benedict Arnolds, delivering their country to a foreign invader? The answer lies in the fact that these officers, composed principally of members of the capitalist class, were using this means of overthrowing and crushing the Social-Democratic government of Norway!

Norway, like its sister Scandinavian kingdoms, has for many years been under the control of a Labor government. In each of these countries the Labor government has attempted to carry out a program of “gradual socialization,” within the framework of capitalist production, in keeping with the Social-Democratic ideal of “evolutionary” Socialism. They instituted widespread systems of social services and “progressive” legislation and sponsored the building of far-reaching Co-operative movements which have become serious competitors of the established private capitalist interests. This program of social reform, the most extensive in the capitalist world has become publicized as the “Middle Way,” i.e., as a compromise between monopoly capitalism

and Communism, and has attracted favorable attention in radical circles throughout the world. In the United States, Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party have often pointed to the Scandinavian example as the road to Socialism and the best means of warding off the menace of Fascism.

Naturally enough, the Norwegian capitalist class, which shouldered the largest part of the burden of increased taxation necessitated by such an extensive program, did not take kindly to this “experiment.” Mounting tax rates which cut into their profits and threatened to undermine their capital structures, growing governmental intervention in business and increased curtailment of private initiative created a growing sentiment of implacable hostility within the capitalist class against the “Socialist” Labor government. Because of the numerically strong organization and the powerful economic position of the Norwegian labor movement the embittered capitalists were compelled to bide their time, waiting for an opportune moment to strike. Their chance came when Hitler began to move toward securing military and naval bases in Norway from which to attack England. The disaffected Norwegian exploiters and their sympathizers within the armed forces were quick to jump at Hitler's offer to rid Norway of the troublesome Labor government in exchange for military and economic support against the Allies. As soon as Hitler gave the signal, they opened the gates to his Nazi hordes. This is the real background of the “Trojan Horse” invasion.

One of the few journalistic attempts to present the truth of this affair was made by the columnists Drew Pearson and Robert Allen in their syndicated column, “Washington Merry Go Round.” Here is what they wrote:

“To understand how the Nazis staged their ‘Trojan Horse’ invasion of Norway one must get an inside view of the Norwegian political picture. Secret of the Nazi success was a rift between the Labor government ruling Norway and Norwegian big business.

“Norwegian business men, while not exactly pro-Nazi, toyed with the hope that Germany might rescue them from a Labor government,

which they had been unable to overthrow at the ballot box. It is doubtful whether the mass of Norwegian business men would have favored an outright occupation by Germany, but according to official cabled reports, they seemed to have the idea that after turning out the Labor government, Hitler would restore Norway to conservative rule.

"There was also a powerful clique within the Norwegian army even more strongly pro-Nazi. Norway's army is not large, chiefly militia officered in part by business and professional men. They argued that since Labor has spent so much on social welfare and neglected national defense, the Labor government could take the consequence. These were the officers whom the Nazis induced to keep their men away when the German troops first landed."

Here is proven once more the truth of one of the basic laws of Marxism: *it is not enough for the workers simply to lay hold of the capitalist state machinery and use it for their own purposes; the indispensable preliminary condition for a successful working class regime is the total destruction of the capitalist state and all its agencies, including its army and navy.*

At the very moment that the Norman Thomases and the Algernon Lees were hailing the "success" of the "Middle Way" and eulogizing it as the best method of combatting Fascism, the forces of reaction, permitted by the benign Labor government to remain in control of the armed forces and the state apparatus, were plotting its undoing.

History demonstrates that no ruling class has ever voluntarily surrendered its class privileges and power. Not only will the exploiters refuse to abdicate their rule to the workers, but even the slightest attempt to curtail their special privileges invariably arouses their implacable hostility. They are not to be beguiled by any half-way measures of "gradual" socialization. Long ago Daniel De Leon pointed out, "The tiger will defend the tips of his mustache with the same ferocity that he will defend his very heart. It is an instinctive process . . . The tiger of capitalism will protect its superfluities with the same ferocity as it will protect its very existence."

The truth of DeLeon's luminous analogy is

fully borne out by the course of recent social history. In the case of Spain, the Peoples' Front Government repudiated any revolutionary objectives, its program being limited to social reform, but this disavowal by no means appeased the ruling feudal-clerical masters of Spain. Even before the Peoples' Front Government took office the forces of reaction openly plotted its overthrow. In the face of this open plotting the new regime made no attempt to dislodge the existing feudal-clerical state apparatus and replace it with a specifically working class governmental apparatus. This inaction sealed its doom and Spain became the graveyard of Peoples' Frontism.

In Norway the Labor Government also specifically repudiated the program of revolution; it refused to conduct a struggle to destroy the power of the capitalist class. It confined itself to utilizing the existing capitalist governmental machinery to carry out its reform program. It attempted to disarm the opposition of the Capitalists by recognizing the sacred rights of private property and the rights of exploitation. It permitted the capitalist agents to remain in control of vital governmental institutions. But the capitalist class was not to be deceived. It refused to be appeased and "pared off" to death or "gradualized" out of existence. It merely waited the opportune time to strike and when that opportunity came it struck with lethal effect. This the Scandinavian "Middle Way" the bright hope of the International Social-Democracy and its American section the Socialist Party has been thrown into the junk pile of history along with Peoples' Frontism. Its brief moment of strutting on the social stage is over.

The debacle of the Norwegian Labor movement holds out a deep and abiding lesson for the American labor movement. Woe unto the American workers if they continue to chase the will-o'-the-wisp of reformism and fail to heed this lesson.

Any attempt to build the foundations of a Socialist society within the framework of Capitalism, is to build on quicksand, and to invite inevitable defeat and destruction. Capitalism can not be "gradualized" out of existence. There is only one immediate political task before the working class and that is the class conquest of power. There is no other route to socialism and emancipation.

Super-Reformism in Action

The gravest danger confronting the working class from within is the insidious poison of reformism. It was the virus of reformism and its effect of deadening and corroding proletarian self-reliance that led to the undoing of the workers in Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain. Today the same toxin is being fed to the workers in France, Britain and the United States and their resistance to the approaching menace of Fascism is being undermined.

REFORMISM A DENIAL OF MARXISM

Reformism is that political philosophy which seeks to instill in the minds of the workers the false notion that the Capitalist Governmental machinery can function in the interests of the workers and that their problems can be solved and their conditions of life improved under the prevailing capitalist system. In this respect it is the exact antithesis of revolutionary Marxism, which bases itself on the unceasing class struggle between the capitalist owners of industry and the dispossessed and disinherited proletariat. In this struggle the machinery of government—the state—acts as the instrument of the ruling class to suppress the workers. Where reformism seeks to employ the state for the purpose of helping the working class, Marxism aims to capture the capitalist machinery of government only to destroy it and replace it with workers' organs of administration.

THE KEYSTONE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

The keystone of revolutionary Socialism is the Law of Surplus Value, whose operation decrees that "the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favor of the capitalist against the working man and that consequently the general tendency of the capitalist system of production is not to raise but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the *value of labor* more or less to its *minimum limit*" (Marx). Reformism in action, if not always in words, rejects this conclusion. Reformism poses the struggle for Socialism as a gradual, piecemeal, legislative process of transition from capitalism to Socialism without a revolutionary upheaval. The program of reformism is studded with "immediate," "emergency," "partial," "transitional" demands, etc.

"TROJAN HORSE" REFORMERS

The open and aboveboard exponents of reformism in the ranks of the workers, such as the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas or the Social Democratic Federation, offer no great problem in dealing with. It is only necessary to show wherein their programs are ineffective to obtain any real improvement in the lot of the workers, and how their propagation of false slogans and demands blinds the masses to their real problem, the struggle for power, while at the same time it creates illusions about the role of the state. Much more dangerous are those parties and groups, the corruptness of whose programs and the rottenness of whose opportunism are hidden behind revolutionary masks. These pseudo-revolutionists write learned theses on the danger of reformism to the working class, cite chapter and verse from every statement of Marx or Lenin on the role of the state, denounce each other and the Social Democracy as reformist to the core; yet when it comes to their own programs, they ignore all their revolutionary teachings to write long strings of "immediate demands" which rival each other in impossibility of achievement under capitalism."

"REVOLUTIONARY" PANACEA

Most of the self-styled Leninist groups, especially the Lovestoneite Independent Labor League and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers' Party are guilty of this political double-dealing. The latter group presents a particularly conspicuous example of the use of the most revolutionary phraseology to cover up the crassest of reformist programs. The masthead of its official organ, the *Socialist Appeal*, lists the following program of "immediate demands" for which the workers should fight:

1. "A job and a decent living for every worker."
2. "Open the idle-factories — operate them under workers' control."
3. "A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program."
4. "Thirty - thirty — \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs."
5. "Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension."
6. "Expropriate the Sixty Families."

7. "All war funds to the unemployed."
8. "A people's referendum on any and all wars."
9. "No secret diplomacy."
10. "An independent Labor Party."
11. "Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks."
12. "Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people."

These objectives, the workers are told, are to be attained under capitalism. As a matter of fact when this program is considered in the light of the present crisis stage of capitalism's decline, it will be seen that only Demands 8, 10 and 11 are at all possible of achievement, regardless of their merit. In order to win any of the other demands it is necessary for the workers first to seize power; but then most of the demands would be superfluous, for the workers' regime would have gone far beyond them.

The foregoing program of unabashed demagogic reformism places the Trotskyists in the same camp with the rest of the panaceamongers and social quacks who have been the bane of the American labor movement from its inception, contributing in no small degree to the extremely low political consciousness of the American workers. The development of a mass revolutionary movement here is dependent upon the elimination of this psychology of seeking panaceas and cure-alls which now afflicts the labor movement. Yet we find the Trotskyists, who proclaim themselves to be the ultimate expression of Marxism, lending practical aid and comfort to their most vicious theoretical enemy.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION THE ONLY REMEDY

If Marxism teaches anything, it demonstrates that only the economic reconstruction of society, the removal of the barriers that the capitalist mode of production places in the path of progress, in short, the removal of capitalist anarchy and planlessness of production, can solve the basic social problems of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, war and fascism. Without this social revolution, the position of the working class must progressively deteriorate. This was true even when capitalism was in its heyday; it is doubly true today, when capitalism has long since ceased to be

capable of expanding and developing the means of production, and has become a reactionary force.

"Socialist" and "revolutionary" reformers who pose the problem of the working class in terms of better distribution (i.e., living wage, etc.), and not in terms of the conquest of power and of transformation of the mode of production are simply playing the game of the capitalist social reformers. The latter profess to be concerned about relieving poverty and the distress of the unemployed by taxing the rich for the benefit of the poor, meanwhile concealing the fact that unemployment, poverty, etc. are the result of private ownership of the means of production. Distribution of the country's income flows from the nature of the economy and no change in the present tendency toward greater concentration of wealth and income in the hands of the capitalists and greater misery and insecurity for the workers is possible unless the existing class relationships are changed by the social revolution.

CAPITALISM NO PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTION

Again, only if the capitalist state has ceased to be the "Executive Committee" of the capitalist class and has suddenly been transformed into a philanthropic institution for the benefit of the workers, is it conceivable that the capitalists will permit the burden of poverty and unemployment to be shifted to their shoulders from those of the workers. If it is actually possible to secure for the workers, as the Trotskyists propose, a minimum wage of \$30 a week for 30 hours of work, jobs and decent living for all workers, fine new homes at low rentals, all by passing laws in Congress, then what is to prevent the government tomorrow from setting low prices on all the necessities and luxuries of life, fixing higher wages and even better standards so that the lot of the workers can be transformed from misery to happiness? Labor power must meantime have ceased to be a commodity and the need for carrying on the class struggle obviated. With so beneficent a capitalism, why should the workers organize to overthrow it? Why then the Social Revolution? If capitalism can be made progres-

sively better for the working class, then Marx was indeed wrong, and the whole basis for the existence of a revolutionary movement, including the need for unions and for a working class disappears.

TROTSKYITES SUPPORT "HAM and EGGS"

Recently the *Workers Age*, the Lovestoneite organ, (itself no weak pillar of reformism), seeking to make factional capital out of the Trotskyist support of the "Ham and Eggs" movement in California, published a severe attack on the *Socialist Appeal* and its reformist twaddle. The Trotskyist organ felt called upon to make a rejoinder in the shape of a series of three editorial articles by Joseph Hansen. Hansen's performance is so self-revealing a portrayal of the bankruptcy and intellectual dishonesty of the Socialist Workers Party that it cannot be ignored.

DECEPTION AS "REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY"

In his first article Hansen attempts to surround the S. W. P. support of the "Ham and Eggs" movement with the aura of revolutionary strategy:

"There was a mass movement in California for security, actually mobilizing hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of desperate, poverty-stricken people. The *Workers Age* didn't mention that the demands of these masses were entirely justified and reasonable. It didn't mention that the inability of capitalism to clothe and feed these people gave their demands a revolutionary significance. It didn't mention that a revolutionary party has the duty to support such demands of the masses although sharply criticizing the unrealistic means proposed to obtain them . . . in order to direct these demands towards their only real means of achievement . . . socialism. It didn't mention that above all a revolutionary party stays with the masses and goes through their experiences with them precisely in order to hasten their development toward socialism."

PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE DEMAGOGUES

Hansen's "revolutionary" strategy is by no means original either with himself or with

the Trotskyists. It is lifted from the Social Democrats, their predecessors in reformism, who also proclaimed that, above all, "we must stay with the masses," and pander to their ignorance, even when the masses were following the pied-pipers of capitalist illusions. It was precisely this brand of strategy that prevailed in the councils of the pre-war social democrats and which led them in a direct course into the camp of imperialism. Today this strategy leads the S. W. P. into the support of the "Ham and Eggs" movement. But that is only the beginning. For, if Hansen and his party went to follow out the logic of their own position, they would find it necessary to support not only the Roosevelt New Deal in its fight for a third term, because this movement undoubtedly has a mass base, but also every other demagogic movement that may attract a mass base, INCLUDING FATHER COUGHLIN'S FASCIST MOVEMENT FOR "SOCIAL JUSTICE." If this conclusion appears fantastic and unwarranted, we have only to recall the experience of the German labor movement, where the Communist Party, guided by the same "revolutionary" strategy, found it possible to form a united front with Hitler's Fascists in the Berlin subway strike in 1931.

"LOAVES OF STONE" FOR THE WORKERS

In his second article Hansen resorts to an ancient S. P. demagogic trick of accusing his critics of being revolutionary dogmatists, callous and indifferent to the sufferings of the working class. After all, he informs his readers, the workers cannot eat revolutionary tracts! But Mr. Hansen and his party, whose hearts bleed for the workers and who do not propose to let the workers starve, offer as an "emergency program" to be achieved "now" a series of demands which, as we pointed out above, are in actuality unobtainable without the overthrow of capitalism. Thus the EXISTING CAPITALIST CONGRESS AND GOVERNMENT are to be called upon to "open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control," to turn over "all war funds to the unemployed," to "expropriate the Sixty Families," etc!

Only fools or knaves are capable of presenting so far-reaching a program of social

reconstruction as an "emergency program" with a possibility of success, while at the same time ignoring the necessity of teaching the workers that they must carry on a ceaseless struggle for power. Only political tricksters would dare hold out the hope that the entrenched capitalist class would voluntarily concede to the workers demands whose effect would be to strip them of their class privileges.

THE "MAGIC FORMULA"

That Hansen is no fool is shown in the third article, where he acknowledges that capitalism cannot solve the immediate problems of the workers. It appears that Hansen's previous tears for the sufferings of the workers were purely literary. His program of "emergency demands" is submitted not particularly in an effort to alleviate their miseries, but in reality to deceive the workers, now passive, into the struggle against capitalism and onto the path of revolution. Here at last is the magic formula which is going to revolutionize the workers behind their backs and set them in motion!"

"ROAD TO DEFEAT PAVED WITH ILLUSIONS"

But in reality this maneuver is a trick which defeats itself. In the degree that false hopes are held out to the workers that the demands for which the S. W. P. calls upon them to fight are actually obtainable, in that degree are the illusions of the masses about the real nature of the capitalistic state strengthened. In the measure that these illusions grow, in the same measure are the workers ideologically disarmed for the real struggle. The elder Liebknecht was not at all mistaken when he warned that "If the road to hell is paved with good intentions, then the road to defeat is paved with illusions."

WORKERS CANNOT BE DECEIVED INTO SOCIALISM

The rank and file of the Socialist Workers Party are undoubtedly sincere in their struggle for Socialism by means of the revolutionary road. All the more necessary is it therefore for them to examine again the path upon which their leadership is taking them.

The history of the movement unmistakably

demonstrates that revolutionists are not made by subterfuge. Workers who are attracted by reforms never become revolutionists. In fact, they are often a positive danger to the movement, because they always desert to the camp of the demagogues who propose bigger and better reforms. Capitalism is rotten-ripe for overthrow. This task can be accomplished only if the workers are properly organized for that objective on both the political and economic fields. In turn, this necessitates a party with a clear-cut, uncompromising revolutionary program and a definite break with reformism and opportunism of every kind. One thing is certain; the Socialist Workers Party is not and cannot be such a party.

S. W. P. and S. P.

"SISTERS UNDER THE SKIN"

In essence the S. W. P. is no different from Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, despite its lip-service to revolution. It is well to remember that the pre-war German Social Democracy also wore the mantle of Marxism and proclaimed its undying devotion to the cause of revolution. It also waged incessant warfare against the "revisionists", whom they correctly branded anti-Marxist. When the critical moment came, however, the rotten core of reformism which had poisoned it from within, caused the Social Democracy to renege on its revolutionary words and to desert to the camp of the class enemy.

The Socialist Union Party appeals to the rank and file of the S. W. P., as well as to the membership of every similar pseudo-revolutionary tendency, to break with the reformism which their organizations practice. We ask them to join our ranks and help build class conscious workers' organizations on the political and the industrial fields which will have the moral stamina as well as the numbers to emancipate the working class from the thrall of wage slavery. Read our literature. Above all, think for yourselves!

—Abraham Ziegler

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All books and pamphlets by Marx, Engels, Lenin, DeLeon, Trotsky, etc. We specialize in material on war economics, labor history, etc. Send for lists. We buy and sell.

LABOR PUBLICATIONS
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LABOR AFTER THE WAR

American labor's position after the war was eloquently portrayed by a leading American Industrial Consultant, Allen H. Mogenson of New York, at the tenth annual Stevens Institute Management Conference. Said Mr. Morgenson, according to a special dispatch to the *New York World-Telegram*, dated June 26th, 1940:

"In a post-war America if labor demands higher wages without increased efficiency, the results will be government control of industry, freezing of wages, outlawing of strikes and complete regimentation.

"This country after the war will face very serious competition from European nations which already have our best machine tools and will have the benefits of cheap labor. The only answer will be improved methods to increase labor's productivity without increasing effort."

American workers who have permitted themselves to be sucked in by the "holy crusade against Hitlerism" poppycock will do well to ponder these words and their significance.

Mr. Mogenson, it should be added, is no "wild-eyed" radical with an ax to grind, but a "safe and sane" spokesman whose close association with capitalism and its problems invests his words with authority.

Regardless of whether or not America formally enters the war, the coming of "peace" will find the totalitarian Hitler regime firmly entrenched in this country. This is the foul brew that capitalism is preparing for the American working class.

(Continued from page 6)

unabashed attempt to smuggle into the law of a supposedly democratic nation two of the cardinal tenets of fascist philosophy: the "leadership" principle, and the economic ostracism of minorities.

Nazi tactics call for a scapegoat upon whom to place the blame for all existing evils. This scapegoat is denied the "right" to earn a living, and is transformed into a pariah. In Germany, Hitler used the Jew for this purpose; in America it is the alien who is to be the victim. Under the cover of destroying the enemy of the German people, the Jews, Hitler smashed the working class and its organizations. Here in the United States we see the process repeated; under the guise of repressing aliens, the ground is being prepared to destroy the entire labor movement.

The "leadership" doctrine is even a more basic part of Nazism. Under this philosophy the employer is the "leader" of his workers and is responsible for their loyalty and service to the state. How this theory is being applied in Nazi Germany is too well known to require elaboration. Yet we find that this fascist proposal, this first step to enslave the entire working class, was defeated in the Senate by the narrow margin of only 3 votes, 29 in favor and 32 opposed. Who is so bold as to believe that we have heard the last of this Nazi leadership proposal? In the very near future the pressure of heightening war hysteria will push through even more repressive measures against labor.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS NEXT

The labor movement cannot afford to be indifferent to the current drive against 'aliens'. There is no particular magic in possessing citizenship. War hysteria cannot distinguish between citizen and alien. Once concentration camps are established for aliens, once aliens are forcibly registered, fingerprinted and subjected to police control, denied free speech and the privileges of trade-union membership, the barriers will be down, and the labor movement as a whole will be the next victim.

LABOR MUST WAKE UP—OR ELSE!

It is not the foreign enemy, it is the enemy here at home who is preparing the chains of fascist enslavement. This is the inexorable fate that awaits the American labor movement unless it bursts the bonds of lethargy and subservience to a degenerate social system, and rouses itself to wield its invincible power against the rising forces of fascist reaction.

Where We Stand!

Present day society is divided into two conflicting classes. On the one hand, a tiny minority of parasitical capitalist exploiters own and control the social means of production; on the other, the vast majority of the population, propertiless and without hope of ever acquiring property, are dependent upon the owners of industry for the right to work, and thus indirectly for the right to live.

The Class Struggle in Action

Between these two classes there rages an unceasing struggle over the division of the wealth that labor alone produces. Often suppressed because of the strong domination of the employers over the minds and wills of their wage slaves, this struggle from time to time breaks out into the open in the form of strikes and lockouts initiated by one or the other of the contending classes. Symptomatic of the existence of this struggle are the fighting organizations of the respective sides—the unions of the workers and the employers' associations of the capitalists.

In this conflict the forces of capital are aided by their control over the State, whose function ever has been to repress the subject class for the benefit of the rulers. In addition all of the institutions of society including the press, the church, the schools and the radio are at the command of the plutocracy. Above all this, the economic laws of capitalism itself decree that as the wealth of the exploiters grows greater and greater, the poverty, misery and degradation of the workers simultaneously increases. In the struggle against the forces of capital the working class finds itself waging a losing battle, sinking ever lower in the social scale.

Capitalism Breeds Chaos

Despite its innate characteristics of exploitation and oppression, capitalism came upon the stage of history as a revolutionary and progressive agency of social evolution. It cleared away the debris of the outmoded feudal restrictions and prepared the ground for the revolutionary transformation of the means of production into the mighty industrial machine of today. This progressive role has long since been exhausted, however, and capitalism now has become a tool of reaction, whose continued existence is a fetter upon further development and growth of the means

of production.

On the political side the continued existence of decadent capitalism is bringing all humanity to the brink of social chaos and fascist enslavement. The present worldwide war in which every country will sooner or later become involved is itself a symptom of the fact that capitalism cannot solve its problems in any rational manner, but must resort to the destruction of the flower of humanity, the workers of the world, in order to decide which combination of capitalists shall control the limited markets and sources of raw materials of the earth.

The Futility of Reform

If humanity is to resume its forward march, if the conquests of centuries of civilization are not to be wiped out in the holocaust, capitalism must be destroyed. All attempts to reform capitalism, to make it operate more humanely, are foredoomed to failure whether such attempts proceed from the camp of the avowed supporters of the existing order or from the ranks of labor in the guise of a "short cut" to Socialism. At best, reforms can only result in a temporary propping up of the tottering system, thus prolonging its existence artificially at the expense of the workers. At this stage of history the advocacy of reform programs serves only to run into the ground the revolutionary class instincts of the workers, and plays directly into the hands of fascist reactionaries and demagogues. Only the revolutionary transformation of society by the working class and the institution of Socialism can solve the problems posed by capitalist bankruptcy and disintegration.

Into the arena of this class struggle the Socialist Union Party enters for the purpose of educating the working class into the realization of the need for this profound social change and of organizing the workers into its ranks for the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of State power and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

Socialist Industrial Unionism

Political organization, however, is not all-sufficient for the workers to accomplish successfully the task of breaking the resistance of the exploiters. The real strength and power of the working class lies in its eco-

conomic control over the means of production and distribution. This power, consciously organized into integral Industrial Unions with the aim of establishing Socialism, makes the proletariat invincible.

The mission of the Socialist Industrial Union is twofold: the first, and immediate task, is to carry on the inevitable daily struggle against capitalist exploitation and thus ameliorate to whatever extent it is possible, the horrible conditions under which the workers exist under capitalism. The second, and supreme mission of the Industrial Union, is to organize the economic power of the working class so that it may be prepared eventually to take over, hold and administer the industries in behalf of all society. Thus is created, under capitalism, and in embryonic form, the structure which will supplant the capitalist political State.

The Daily Class Struggle

The Socialist Union Party, while uncompromisingly pursuing its revolutionary objective, by no means holds itself aloof from the unavoidable daily class struggle. Its members participate actively in all phases of the workers' movements to resist capitalist exploitation and encroachments. Their aim is to win the respect and confidence of the workers by setting an example of devotion and loyalty to the interests of their class to the weak and the faltering.

S.U.P. Supports Existing Unions— But Not Blindly

On the economic field the Socialist Union Party wholeheartedly supports the struggles of the existing unions against the employers and their political servant, the State. Our support is neither blind nor uncritical, however. Both in the C.I.O. and in the A.F.I., the existing unions are far from being ideal working class organizations. Their capitalist political philosophy, their faked leadership and their antiquated structure seriously impair the strength and solidarity of the rank and file in the struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Union Party points out these deficiencies to its fellow workers and emphasizes the imperative necessity of recasting these unions into Socialist Industrial Unions embracing all the workers in their respective industries and based on rank and file control.

The Struggle for Relief — Unity of Employed and Unemployed Essential

Likewise does the S.U.P. support to the fullest extent the struggles of the unemployed workers and their organizations to wrest a pittance of relief from the capitalist State. These are not mere "reform" attempts at improving the conditions of the workers under capitalism; they are veritable life-and-death struggles for the existence of millions of the dispossessed and the displaced victims of capitalist greed. Again in this case, the S.U.P. points out the futility of expecting anything other than increased attempts at wholesale relief cutting and curtailment of work relief programs from a capitalist system rushing swiftly toward bankruptcy. The unemployed, even more than the employed workers, have abundant reason to inscribe on their banners, "Abolition of the Wages System!"

In supporting the daily struggles of the workers, both employed and unemployed, the S.U.P. endeavors to co-ordinate and to link them to the larger struggle for emancipation. For this purpose as well as for mutual protection against the wage-cutting tactics of the employers and the government, it is essential that the unity and solidarity of the unemployed with the employed be realized as quickly as possible.

Socialism or Fascism— The Only Alternatives

Workers! The crisis of American capitalism is quickly bringing it to the point where only war and fascism will be able to save it; war, by destroying its foreign rivals; and fascism by destroying the resistance of the working class. The capitalist class already recognizes the alternatives which it faces and is even now preparing to subject the workers to the twin horrors which the workers of Europe are now undergoing. It is time to wake up and act!

Join the Fight for Emancipation

The Socialist Union Party appeals to all class conscious workers and to all others who are prepared to accept and act in accordance with the principles enunciated above, to join its ranks and participate in the struggle for proletarian emancipation!

The Fight for the Thirty-Hour Week

THE RIDDLE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Who will answer the hitherto unanswerable riddle of unemployment? The brain trusters of the New Deal and the smiles of the "Messiah" Roosevelt have utterly failed after seven years of trying. More and more, the organized workers are turning for a solution to the panacea of the "Thirty Hour Week With Forty Hours Pay." The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have both endorsed this proposal in principle. Thousands of local unions are busy circulating and obtaining signatures to petitions asking Congress to establish the thirty-hour week in industry by legal enactment.

HAVE NO FAITH IN POLITICIANS

The Socialist Union Party, composed of workers who have felt the pinch of unemployment no less than their fellow wage slaves, wholeheartedly supports the movement for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay. We must warn the workers, however, that if this aim is at all possible of achievement, it will not be by depending on Congress and the politicians but only by working class unity and solidarity in an unrelenting struggle on the economic field.

WHOM DOES CONGRESS REPRESENT?

Whom does Congress and the Administration represent? In whose interests do the politicians act? Was labor helped when the prevailing wage rule on WPA work was abolished? Are the workers benefitted when relief budgets are slashed to the bone while billions are lavished on war preparations? Who profits when phony anti-trust law prosecutions are begun against organized labor? The answer is clear: the politicians, big and small, serve the employers and the interests of capitalism against the workers' needs. That is why the working class must depend only upon its own strength.

ECONOMIC ACTION ALL POWERFUL

If the seven or eight million organized workers should collectively demand the thirty-

hour week with no reduction in pay, and prepare to enforce their demand, not with petitions, but by using their economic power, no force on earth could prevent them from establishing the shorter work week. Labor can achieve anything it wills, provided it is united and determined.

HOW THE 8-HOUR DAY WAS WON

Whatever gains labor has made in the past have been accomplished, not with the aid of politicians or laws passed by politicians, but by militant struggle on the economic field. The eight-hour day was not handed down to the workers on a silver platter. It was secured only after a bitter and unrelenting struggle on the part of the labor movement. When the agitation began in the 90s, the politician "friends of the workers" managed to get laws passed by the State legislatures which were supposed to establish the eight-hour day. However, these laws were either invalidated by the courts or killed by lack of enforcement. But there was the eight-hour law that the courts were compelled to uphold, much against their will: that was the famous Adamson Act establishing the eight-hour day on all American railroads. And the cause of this victory was capitalism's fear of labor's organized strength.

THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS

Seeking to solve the unemployment crisis in the railroad industry in 1917, the Railway Brotherhoods threatened to halt all transportation unless the railroads agreed to an eight-hour day. Everyone knew that the railway workers had the power to carry out their threat and thereby halt the movement of munitions and war supplies as well as paralyze the industrial life of the nation. It was a thoroughly scared Congress that rushed through the Adamson Act at the urgent request of the then President, Woodrow Wilson. And when the rail magnates appealed for relief to the Supreme Court, the railroad workers gave notice that they were determined to resist to the last any attempt to take from them the victory they had won. The Supreme Court upheld the Adamson Act, frankly bas-

ing its decision on the necessity of protecting the "public" welfare. A strike would have destroyed the Army's plan for moving materials and men. The capitalist class dared not run the risk.

The lesson for workers is clear. Labor's demands will be listened to and granted only when labor is organized and prepared to enforce them with all its economic strength! No other way can succeed!

SHORTER WORK WEEK ONLY A PALLIATIVE

One more warning. Those workers who engage in this struggle for the shorter work week with the idea that this proposal will solve the problem of unemployment will suffer the bitterest disillusion. The thirty-hour week is not a "practical" solution. The thirty-hour week is merely a palliative which will for a short time soften and spread out the effects of unemployment. It cannot prevent the displacement of more and more workers

by technological improvements and the introduction of new machinery; in fact it will serve as an added incentive for employers to install labor-displacing equipment. Never forget; as long as capitalism remains there is no solution possible for this problem. Necessary as is the palliative of the thirty-hour week to alleviate the distress of the unemployed, it cannot cure the disease. That can only be effected by removing the cause of the affliction—the capitalist system of production.

ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM THE ONLY CURE

So, fellow workers, continue your fight to win the thirty-hour week at forty-hours pay. At the same time, if you wish to intelligently fight for a real solution to the problem of unemployment, as well as every other problem besetting the working class, read the literature and study the program of the Socialist Union Party. Join with us in the struggle for **WORKING CLASS EMANCIPATION!**

“National Unity”—A Drive Against Labor

As American capitalism draws nearer and nearer to open participation in the raging holocaust of World War II, its apologists and propagandists are doubling and redoubling their feverish activity to establish what they call "National Unity." On every side the workers of the nation are being bombarded with pleas to put aside their own "selfish" interests and patriotically to unite with their exploiters in the defense of their "common" interests—"national defense" against Hitler. Labor's "impartial" critics are warning the workers not to take advantage of the crisis to try to maintain or better their standards. On the other hand, the betrayers of labor in its own ranks call upon the workers to impose "self-discipline" on themselves and to be prepared to accept painful sacrifices in order to preserve their freedom and to ward off the threat of fascist enslavement.

The military collapse of France and the precarious condition of Great Britain are being pointed to as horrible examples of the results of lack of "National Unity." Pointed reference is made to the fact that no labor organizations or standards exist in Nazi Germany and that an important reason for Hitler's victories lies

in the fact that German labor works from 60 to 80 hours a week supplying military needs. The implication is plain, even though it has not been voiced openly as yet: if the United States is to defeat Germany, the workers will have to lower their working standards and increase their hours in order to compete with enslaved German labor.

Capitalism's case for "National Unity" has been stated with disarming effectiveness by David Lawrence, well-known conservative journalist, whose syndicated column appears throughout the country. On June 7th, Mr. Lawrence wrote in his own weekly, *The United States News*, under the suggestive title, "Labor Sacrifices Today—Or Slavery Tomorrow":

"We might as well get down to brass tacks in appraising American security in a world of war. The real question before us today is not whether the United States has the will to build the largest navy, the largest army and the largest air force in the world to defend this country and this hemisphere, but whether American labor will wake up to the danger in time and make the maximum use of our industrial strength. The chief weapon of modern warfare is not money but the product of

human and mechanized labor . . . If the whole world goes totalitarian, freedom for labor will perish. Slavery will be world wide . . .

"The answer lies with labor . . . The main problem is how to get the maximum of production from labor.

"Profits are already limited and will be further depleted by taxation, but this is a small segment of the difficulty . . . Labor must suggest a program in which so-called labor standards are modified for the duration of the war so as to get a maximum output . . . Sixty-hour and eighty-hour weeks have been the rule rather than the exception there [Germany].

"Capital and management must cooperate with labor. All together must see that the collapse of American security is inevitable unless such self-discipline is imposed at once . . . To do it will require painful sacrifices."

LABOR THE BASIC POWER

It is clear that Mr. Lawrence is well aware of the fact, which the great majority of the workers unfortunately still fail to appreciate, that the decisive factor in modern warfare is labor, or as Mr. Lawrence puts it, "the product of human and mechanized labor." If labor's understanding were as clear and penetrating, and if it acted upon that understanding on behalf of its own class interests and not to protect the "National" interests of Mr. Lawrence's capitalist class, the world today would not be racing with seven-league boots backward toward social chaos and fascist enslavement.

WHO ENSLAVES LABOR?

Before entering into a consideration of the question of "National Unity" proper, it is necessary to cut away some of the emotional underbrush with which capitalism's spokesmen surround the problem. The cry is raised that a Hitler victory over American imperialism will spell the enslavement of the American workers. The cry is false. It is not Hitler but American Capitalism who prepares the chains for fascist enslavement for labor. *For with the very entrance of this country into war against Germany and Italy, the civil liberties and independent organizations of the workers will be destroyed, just as they were in Great Britain and France!*

Again, it is a totally false assumption, which the entire pack of capitalist apologists carefully cultivates, that American imperialism and its Allies are capable of, or can be trusted to destroy Hitlerism. Neither Mr. Lawrence nor any other spokesman for capitalism has yet shown HOW an Allied victory in the Second World War will have results differing from the First. We were told then that the world was to

be made safe for democracy and that wars were to be no more. Instead, it was the rapacity of the victors which laid the ground for the rise and the triumph of the fascists Hitler and Mussolini. We have a right to demand how these same imperialists expect to succeed the second time where they failed the first.

NO COMMON GROUND FOR UNITY

Implicit in the capitalist appeal for "National Unity" is the premise that there is a common ground or an identity of interests between Capital and Labor. This premise also is a falsehood. The worker, seeking a higher standard of living, higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions, can only win these at the expense of the capitalist. On the other hand the capitalist can only increase his profits by cutting wages, lengthening hours or speeding up the work. It is this fundamental divergence of interest which causes the never-ceasing struggle between the two classes, a struggle which no amount of honeyed words out "National Unity" can cover up.

only conceivable unity between the capitalist and the worker is the same as that between the lion and the lamb—with the lamb "safe" inside the lion's belly.

PATRIOTISM SPELLS PROFITS

Nor is the capitalist class primarily interested in preserving America, protecting democracy or promoting the welfare of the masses of our people. Despite all its pretensions to patriotism, American capitalism is concerned solely with preserving its PROFITS, against the onslaughts of its German rival as well as against the demands of the workers. All other considerations are secondary, where they are not mere camouflage. When put to the test, capitalist "patriotism" never hesitates to sell out its own country to preserve its own class privileges, as we have witnessed in Spain, Norway, Holland and most recently in France.

WALL STREET DEMANDS ADDED "STIMULUS"

Is American capitalism any different than its European rivals in its lust for profits? Not in the least! Even at the very moment that they are howling for "sacrifices" on the part of labor for "National Defense" these same patriots are unable to understand why they should be called upon "to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country. The first thing that capital will require to work harder in war time is some assurance of a larger return."—*New York Sun*.

The *Wall Street Journal*, authoritative spokesman for top capitalism, blandly stated in

its May 20th issue that in return for a rapid expansion in production "undoubtedly industry will demand many concessions in the way of tax exemptions, amortization policies, relaxation of labor laws, ETCETERA." One need not be a mind reader to point out that this "ETCETERA" stands above all for bigger and better profits!

Nor is capital's plea for an additional incentive going unheeded by any means. Congress has already moved to guarantee industries engaged in manufacturing for "defense" a profit of 10 percent., and 12 percent. for aircraft manufacturers, free of all risks. Since the justification for profit is supposed to be the *risk* taken by the capitalist, it is difficult to understand how capital can explain why it is entitled to a return of 10 to 12 percent. after all the risk is eliminated!

"NATIONAL UNITY" IN ACTION

Now we can understand the real meaning of the cry for "National Unity" as the defenders of capitalism put it forward:

For labor, it is the prelude to the military dictatorship of M-Day; it means "forgetting about standards," "self-discipline," "painful sacrifices," aye, even sixty to eighty hours of work weekly.

For capital, it means "extra stimulus of an added return," "relaxation of labor laws," "tax exemptions," "guaranteed profits without risks." Like Artemus Ward's patriot, capitalism stands ready to do anything to win the war, even to sacrificing every one of his wife's relatives. Our present-day "patriots" are ready to make sacrifices too; they are prepared to sacrifice every labor standard, every hard-won gain made by the workers, even to establish fascist enslavement for labor, in the effort to safeguard their imperialist interests from Hitler's attacks.

THE KEARNY SHIP STRIKE

A practical illustration of "National Unity" in action is supplied by the abortive C.I.O. shipyard strike at the Federal Shipbuilding yards at Kearny, N. J., where the workers asked for a modest increase of 10 cents per hour in their wages to meet the rise in the cost of living and to bring their wage rates up to those prevailing in other lines for similar work. The company refused this demand and the men walked out, after rejecting a contract negotiated by their collaborationist leadership. Immediately the "heat" was on. With one voice the press denounced the strikers as "fifth columnists" and saboteurs of defense. Demands were raised in Congress that the strike be immediately suppressed. The union leadership joined the hue and cry against the strikers and

strongly urged them to return to work. Bowing before the storm, the men halted their strike.

The lesson of this episode should be manifest to every worker. These strikers actually had the audacity to want a raise of 10 cents an hour to meet rising living costs. In the eyes of the superpatriots in Congress, these men were traitors who were trying to hold up the government in its hour of need. The fact that the Federal Shipbuilding Company, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, was receiving 20 percent. more for its ships from the government and was reaping fabulous war profits—that constituted "National Unity" and patriotism of the highest order.

To make "National Unity" more palatable to the workers and to deaden the stench of capitalist war profiteering which still lingers on from the last war, it is proposed by some to eliminate all "excess" war profits, as well as to conscript wealth. That is the course which was adopted in Great Britain, where capital is taxed 100 percent. on excess profits resulting from the war. This plan however by no means eliminates the tremendous mass profits that war breeds for it leaves intact to the capitalist all *normal* profits!

As a matter of fact, the defense industries, i.e., steel, automobiles, munitions, aircraft, ships, etc., are largely monopoly-controlled, with enormous *normal* profits. Expansion of existing facilities (which is to be paid for by the government) and their operation at full capacity day and night spells fabulous profits for the capitalist even at normal rates of profit! They can well afford to cede their "excess" earnings to the government as their "sacrifice" while they continue to draw profits out of the blood and sweat of their workers.

"NATION UNITY" DISARMS LABOR

Fellow Workers: Do not permit the war hysteria of the capitalist imperialists to blind you to the colossal fraud of "National Unity!" There can be no unity between the capitalist exploiters and their victims, between the robbers and the robbed.

Under capitalism, "National Unity" can only mean the disarming of labor and its subjection to those who would enslave us. It can only result in strengthening and perpetuating their rule.

The war and Hitler's victories changes nothing. "National Unity" still continues to be a snare and a delusion.

Not capitalist "National Unity," but only the workers' revolution can wipe out the plague of Hitlerism and fascism from the face of the earth!

RUSH HELP TO SAVE LABOR POWER

We have no apologies to offer for the irregular appearance of LABOR POWER. Financial stringency "that ole man debil" of the labor press has at length caught up with us. Those readers who may have been inclined to dismiss our past appeals for financial support as just "routine alarmist stuff" of Business Managers now have the proof of the pudding.

This issue has been made possible by the sacrifices of a few devoted comrades. Further issues, the continued publication of LABOR POWER, lies in the hands of our readers. Unless financial support in the shape of contributions, subs and paid bundle orders is forthcoming LABOR POWER will be compelled to discontinue publication, and this is no idle threat.

We are confident that our readers will agree that the loss of LABOR POWER would constitute a calamity. More especially so at a time like this, when a mounting war hysteria is threatening to cut off the voice of opposition. It would indeed be a sad commentary if the indifference and inertia of our readers were to result in prematurely snuffing out the life of what has proved to be a valiant fighter in the cause of proletarian emancipation and against Imperialist war and its inescapable fascist enslavement. This calamity must not happen. But it will not happen only in the degree that our readers rush in their financial support, contributions, subs and paid bundle orders, to assure the continued publication of LABOR POWER. Tarry not!

—Business Manager.

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